

us to support a no-fly zone ought to participate with us in terms of making sure that no-fly zone is sustainable.

We cannot sit by and allow Qaddafi to kill more and more innocent people in a bloodbath, to use the power, air power, of his force to massacre civilians. We cannot allow that.

So I think the time is now. We can't keep waiting, because if we wait, it will be too long and the bloodbath will have already occurred. I think the time for action is now. Let's do it in conjunction with the EU and the Arab League.

□ 1540

SUPPORTING PUBLIC RADIO

(Mr. CLARKE of Michigan asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. CLARKE of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I'm standing here opposing the action taken by this House today and urging the Senate to allow the valued listeners of Metro Detroit's WDET to hear the best quality national programming, and here's why. What happens around the world impacts the quality of life of people living in Metro Detroit. The valiant listeners of Detroit's WDET deserve to hear this news and this programming.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Ms. Curtis, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has agreed to without amendment a joint resolution and a concurrent resolution of the House of the following titles:

H.J. Res. 48. Joint resolution making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 2011, and for other purposes.

H. Con. Res. 27. Concurrent resolution providing for the acceptance of a statue of Gerald R. Ford from the people of Michigan for placement in the United States Capitol.

END THE WAR IN IRAQ

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MCKINLEY). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 5, 2011, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KUCINICH) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. KUCINICH. March 20, 2003, 8 years ago, the United States launched a full-scale attack on Iraq. Many of us remember watching the images of shock and awe as violence was wreaked against the people of Iraq and, in particular, the city of Baghdad. That moment at which America arrived to express its military might had antecedents that we should study this evening.

I want to review, Mr. Speaker, the climate that was created for this Congress that caused this Congress to make a decision back in October of 2002 to go to war against Iraq—a war that was executed beginning March 20, 2003.

It was 9 years ago to this date that Vice President Cheney said the fol-

lowing of Iraq: "We know they have biological and chemical weapons." That was March 17, 2002.

On March 19, 2002, Vice President Cheney said: "And we know they are pursuing nuclear weapons."

On March 24, 2002, Vice President Cheney said of Saddam Hussein: "He is actively pursuing nuclear weapons at this time."

Later, on May 19, 2002: "We know he's got chemicals and biological and we know he's working on nuclear." That was Vice President Cheney on "Meet the Press."

August 26, 2002, speaking to the VFW's convention, Vice President Cheney said: "Simply stated, there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction. There is no doubt that he is amassing them to use against our friends, against our allies, and against us."

September 8, 2002, again, on NBC's "Meet the Press," Vice President Cheney said this: "Based on intelligence that's becoming available, some of it has been made public, more of it hopefully will be, that he has indeed"—he's speaking of Saddam Hussein—"he has indeed stepped up his capacity to produce and deliver biological weapons; that he has reconstituted his nuclear program to develop a nuclear weapon; that there are efforts underway inside Iraq to significantly expand his capability."

On September 8, 2002, on "Meet the Press," Vice President Cheney went on to say of Hussein: "He is in fact actively and aggressively seeking to acquire nuclear weapons."

March 16, 2003, a few days before the attack: "And we believe he has in fact reconstituted nuclear weapons."

I mention this, Mr. Speaker, because, for those Members who were not in the House of Representatives at the time of the October debate and at the time that the attack commenced and for those who are just citizens watching these events unfold, there was created in this country a climate of belief, a certainty, as to the grave peril which Saddam Hussein of Iraq was alleged to represent. That was the Vice President.

Now, the President, in various appearances and statements and in the legislation he presented to this Congress, the President made the following material representations with respect to Iraq. He said that Iraq was continuing to possess and develop a significant chemical and biological weapons capability. He said that Iraq was actively seeking a nuclear weapons capability; that Iraq was continuing to threaten the national security interests of the United States and international peace and security; that Iraq had demonstrated a willingness to attack the United States; that members of al Qaeda, an international organization bearing responsibility for attacks on the United States, its citizens, and interests, including the attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, are known to be in Iraq. That attacks on

the United States of September 11, 2001, underscored the gravity of the threat that Iraq will transfer weapons of mass destruction to international terrorist organizations.

President George W. Bush represented to this Congress that Iraq will either employ those weapons to launch a surprise attack against the United States or its Armed Forces or provide them through international terrorists who would do so; that an extreme magnitude of harm would result to the United States and its citizens from such an attack; and that the aforementioned threats justified action by the United States to defend itself.

Mr. Speaker, we have an obligation as a Nation to defend ourselves. To provide for common defense is one of the foundational principles of this country in the preamble to our Constitution. Those who are charged with the responsibility of guiding the affairs of our Nation, the President and the Vice President—in this case, President Bush, Vice President Cheney—had a responsibility to be totally clear and honest with the American people. It is to their shame that they were neither honest nor candid with the American people and with this Congress.

Here we are on the eighth anniversary of the attack on Iraq. And I think, Mr. Speaker, it would be instructive for this Congress to have the opportunity to review what it is we were told in early October of 2002, when we voted as a Congress to authorize the President to take action against Iraq, action which commenced 8 years ago. Listen to some of these claims that were made. I will state the claims that were made and then I will rebut them.

□ 1550

We were told that, in 1990, in response to Iraq's war of aggression against an illegal occupation of Kuwait, the United States forged a coalition of nations to liberate Kuwait and its people in order to defend the national security of the United States and enforce United Nations Security Council resolutions relating to Iraq.

Mr. Speaker, the thing that was said then at that time in response: I pointed out that, in the Persian Gulf War, there was an international coalition. World support was for protecting Kuwait. There was no world support for invading Iraq.

The resolution that President Bush submitted to this Congress which resulted in the invasion of Iraq 8 years ago said: Whereas, after the liberation of Kuwait in 1991, Iraq entered into a United Nations-sponsored cease fire agreement, pursuant to which Iraq unequivocally agreed, among other things, to eliminate its nuclear, biological, chemical weapons programs and the means to deliver and develop them and to end its support for international terrorism;

Whereas, the efforts of international weapons inspectors, United States intelligence agencies, and Iraqi defectors